181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

231 422 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 554 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the watering place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

233 312

233 [312] troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both [137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the [311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon overstocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with [246] a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce national methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68, also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
●233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

Plate 24

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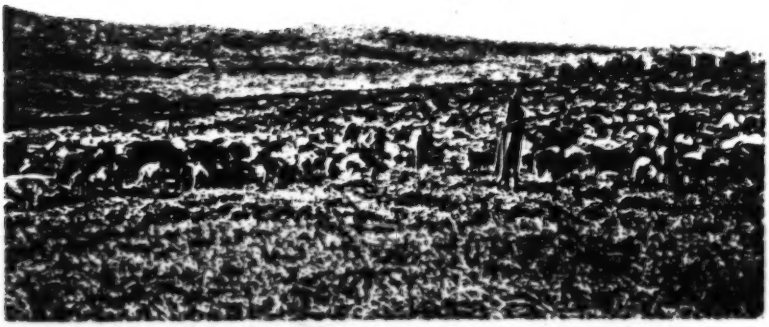

Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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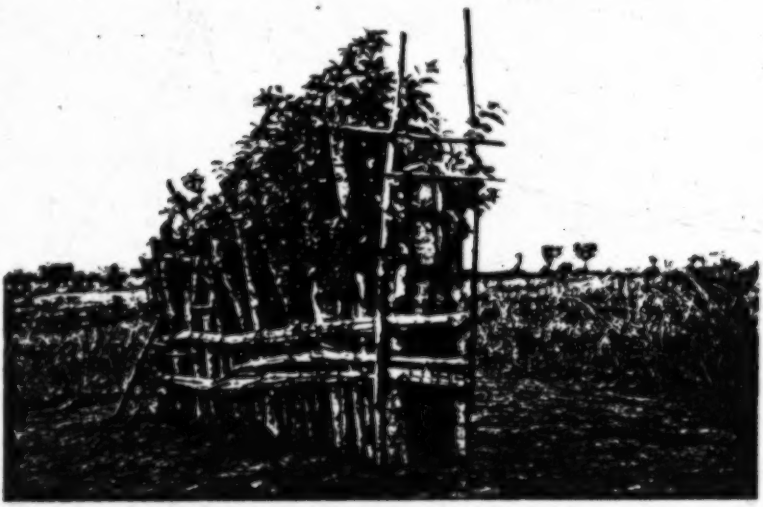

Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely connected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

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lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

● 233 556 181 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

●233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [366] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

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I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature. The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions. The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

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264 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits. The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n'. ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result, " add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable. "

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

Pastoral Terms

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233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found," from the word gusanga, "to find," because it was one of the first kings of Ruanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out," because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ..."for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow," or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow," a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed
[422] (irich[illegible]gura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

192 233 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.

Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

[517] Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi sometimes shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 234 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk, ikivuguto; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

Sacred Cows

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The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi. [822]

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing. [824] [535]

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden [262]

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

234 302 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and 415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

● 233 The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval 233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special 465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 661 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so. Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running even into thousands; while a man who was considered only moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture lands two or three months at a time without returning home, sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

[422] The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

233 When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon-825 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this processs.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23.
[8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[16]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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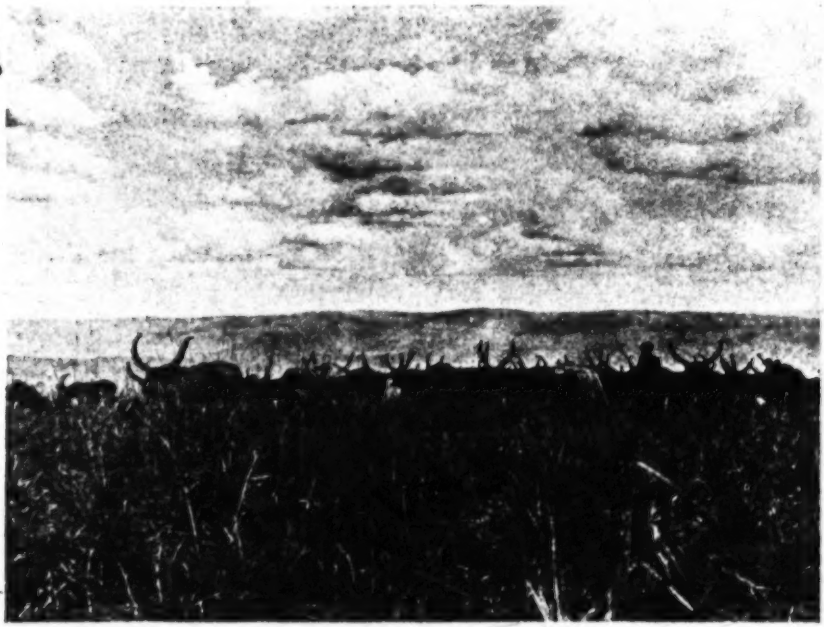

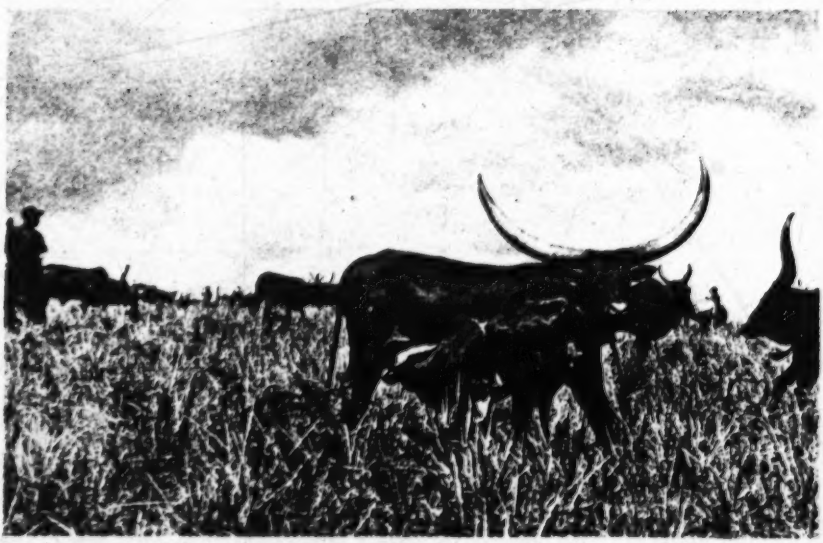

XV and XVI. Burundi landscapes.

[Following p. 215, B]